

THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC

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THE VATICAN'S NEW PLACE
IN WORLD POLITICS

DECEMBER, 1920.

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331 West 57th Street, New York City.

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NEW YORK CITY

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THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC

Consolidating the Canadian Liberator

An International Magazine

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Devoted to the Instruction of Roman Catholics Regarding the Evangelical Faith, the Enlightenment of Protestants as to the Aims of the Roman Hierarchy, and the Spiritual Well-being of All.

(Founded 1883)

By the late James A. O'Connor, D.D. (Sometime Priest of the Church of Rome)

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Editor

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TWO MEN OF POWER

BY HAROLD PATRICK MORGAN

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THE ONE

Dynamic molds he to his will
The men he scorns, who but fulfil
Machine-like functions; then, with glee
Laughs their brute soullessness to see,
Or sullen envy. Moved by greed,
He tramples down each bruised reed;
"Poor fools," he cries, "the fit survive,
The strong and crafty always thrive,
While honest men, whose souls are pure,
A livelihood can scarce procure."
Thus scatters he with lib'ral hand
Hatred and doubt throughout the land
Men in his brutal presence cower,
And fear, yet loathe, this man of power.

THE OTHER

Like the world's Saviour, this man lives
In lonely places, and never gives
To Mammon, lust, or baneful pride,
A thought or wish to greed allied.
But, blessed with a contented mind,
And love sincere for all mankind,
Belov'd in turn—from day to day
He goes on his appointed way.
So pure, so finely sane is he
His life exhales unconsciously
The breath of love. Whose faith is dim
Finds confidence in God through him.
With hope and faith, men rise and tower
Before this lowly man of power.

THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC

"When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren."-Luke 22: 32.

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No. 10

A PERSONAL NOTE

It is not without feelings of profound gratification that I address my readers through the pages of The Converted Catholic. Being an entire stranger in your country, I was not insensible as to the difficulty of undertaking the Directorship of Christ's Mission and the weight of responsibility which the editing of The Converted Catholic involved.

It will, perhaps, be said by some that The Converted Catholic displays too little politics of the day. It ought to be remembered that, as the organ of a religious institution, and being read, for the most part, by a people who are wisely anxious to obtain religious enlightenment, consistency requires that it should not deviate in this respect.

I take great pleasure in calling the attention of the reader to the valuable defense of Protestantism from the pen of Pastor G. R. MacFaul. The exact information, the sound arguments, and the sweet Christian spirit of his masterful articles, strongly recommend them to the notice of all who take an earnest interest in the prosperity of the Christian Church.

Then, too, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of expressing my grateful acknowledgments to my contributors for their valued assistance, whose articles have given to the magazine its chief value, and I cannot omit to mention the noble self-sacrificing work which Mr. Andrew Jameson has so cheerfully performed on behalf of Christ's Mission.

That I have not succeeded in every instance will be readily acknowledged, for I have often met with very grave diffi-

culties and severe and unlooked-for disappointments, which have prevented the fulfilment of my cherished plans and earnest desires.

On reviewing some features of the work I am far from feeling perfect satisfaction; but I am cheered by the conviction of honest and upright intentions, and by the many unsolicited assurances of approval.

I wish, also, to record my thanksgivings to the ever-blessed Lord, by whose merciful providence I have been privileged to witness the deliverance of several Roman Catholic priests and a number of the Roman Catholic laity during the period of my directorship.

In conclusion, I desire to acknowledge my obligations to those who have so liberally sustained and helped, both by their prayers and with their means in the work of Christ's Mission. My high and grateful sense of the personal kindness manifested to myself and family by so many with whom it has been our very good fortune to become acquainted cannot be expressed in mere words.

THE POPE'S DONKEY

John Trapp, a favorite Biblical commentator with Spurgeon, tells us that England, in olden times, was called by Continental men "The Pope's Ass." That England has been doing her best of late years to earn the title of the "Pope's Ass" once more, her continued negotiations with the Vatican bear witness.

Mr. Lloyd George stated in the British House of Commons on November 11th that:

"His Majesty's Government have decided, after full and careful consideration, that it is desirable in the public interest to continue the diplomatic representation of Great Britain at the Vatican, which has been in existence since the first year of the war and has been attended with beneficial results."

VATICAN'S NEW PLACE IN WORLD POLITICS.

The Vatican is again a great power in world politics. It has been my business to examine many of the manifestations of this immense revival, and not in one, but in practically every country in Europe, and to a considerable extent in Canada and America. There are certain phenomena which are occurring all over the globe in which the Church of Rome is playing indubitably a prominent part after some years of comparative political extinction, and it is impossible not to put together the various movements and events and come to the conclusion that at one bound Romanism has become a huge force to be reckoned with.

It always has been necessary to take Romanism seriously into the reckoning; but never anything like so much as now, and the Vatican is out to capture more and more control of world affairs. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Vatican controls the world in a much more real and widespread way than any other individual Government. Governments are striving, each from its own centre, to control the world, and are keenly realizing how powerless they are in the confusion of things—how their writ does not run far or effectively beyond their own realm; whereas the Vatican, which has no territorial realm, which has only a centre, has its spiritual kingdom everywhere.

Power of the Vatican

To it politicians, no matter what their creed, are turning for help. Apparently the statesmen find it is impossible to preserve order in the complex and topsy-turvy universe without its influence. It is so vital a factor in restoration that even Protestant (or rather agnostic) Englishmen like Mr. Arthur Balfour are asking that the moral authority of the Vatican be utilized on the League of Nations in order to make the League something of a reality; that even the anti-Catholic rulers of France are willing to make any concessions that public opinion would stand to enlist the diplomatic support of the Pope in the government of Alsace-Lorraine and the formation of a great Catholic bloc in Central Europe to counterbalance the aggressive and Protestant Prussia; that even the

Italian King and authorities are seeking something more than "frozen enmity"—a real reconciliation—with the Pope, who regards them as usurpers on his proper territory, because without Papal assistance they may be swallowed up in the revolutionary vortex; that even—but we shall see how manifold are these manifestations of a new respect for the political power of the Curia.

Before proceeding to elaborate these statements and show their practical importance for America, let us consider for a moment how inevitable is this revival. There have been bad blunders made by the political directors of the Holy See, and there has been great opposition to them, with some reversals of fortune perhaps not altogether deserved. But nothing could rob this tremendous organization, with its 300,000,000 of adherents forming a solid bloc in almost every civilized country, of its influence on affairs. The Church, unlike any other except the Mohammedan Church, is a worldwide institution. All other forms of Christianity are essentially national. Rome stands eternal, and if the Papal possessions are gone, the influence of Rome transcends all question of territory. It has no frontiers. The orders of Rome mean more than the orders of any other outside authority, and often mean more than the orders of the inside authority; and this power goes everywhere. It is shut up in no watertight department of State.

It would be strange, indeed, if no use were made in the political sphere of this might. Its powers, transmitted from one centre through an endless chain of functionaries, an unbroken, trained hierarchy, will have an amazing potency..

Power in United States

The Czech can be affected by the same decision of the same authority as the Irish-born American. There is certainly no other power to compare with that of the Vatican, in spite of its vicissitudes of the last hundred years or so. And in point of numbers the Church controlled from Rome is growing at an incredible rate. Take the case of America. There were in 1910 something over 12,000,000 members; in 1915 nearly 14,000,000, and in the last year 16,000,000. I am

giving official figures. It would be hard to match this progress, and if the Church has grown so remarkably in America it has always been far and away the largest individual Church, the Protestant bodies being broken up into a score of sects.

Sixteen million active adherents! What a wonderful voting organization, and how could the Vatican fail to direct in some measure the policies of candidates, of the eventual President? That in fact this pressure was used is well known. Individual priests like Dr. Mannix, of course, mean something, but prove nothing. He helped the fiery crusade; but he is a single and rather compromising person; and it is perhaps good tactics to repudiate him. What is much more important is the general attitude of Catholic agents of all kinds, an attitude that is not expressed in wild gestures, but in quiet work.

Influence in Ireland

In Ireland itself the influence of the priesthood may be more clearly discerned. All who have had occasion to visit that unhappy country have borne testimony to the responsibility of the priests for the strength of the national movement. It is not my purpose to assess the moral values of the fact; but that the Vatican could have exercised a decisive influence—and in fact did—on events is obvious. The interest of the Vatican as conceived by Cardinal Gasparri, who is the astute political director, is to obtain the largest measure of liberty for Roman Catholic populations everywhere in the world, in order that Romanism itself may be strengthened in a religious sense and in its diplomatic relations with the Courts and foreign offices.

For many ages [we may quote from the Statesman's Year Book] until Pius IX.'s reign, with some comparatively short breaks, the Popes or Roman Pontiffs bore temporal sway over a territory stretching across Mid-Italy from sea to sea and comprising an area of some 16,000 square miles, with a population finally of some 3,125,000 souls. Of this dominion the whole has been incorporated with the Italian Kingdom. Furthermore, by an Italian law dated May 13, 1871, there was guaranteed to his Holiness and his successors for ever.

besides possessions of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the villa of Castel Gandolfo, a yearly income of 3,225,000 lire, or £129,000, which allowance (whose arrears would in 1915 amount to 145,125,000 lire, or £5,805,000, without interest) still remains unclaimed and unpaid.

The central administration of the Roman Catholic Church is carried on by a number of permanent committees called Sacred Congregations, composed of Cardinals, with consultors and officials. There are now eleven Sacred Congregations, viz., Holy Office, Consistorial, Discipline of the Sacraments, Council, Religious, Propaganda Fide, Index, Rites, Ceremonial, Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Studies. Besides these there are several permanent commissions, for example, one for Biblical studies, another for historical studies, another for preservation of the faith, in Rome, another for codification of canon law. Furthermore, the Roman Curia contains three tribunals, to wit, the Apostolic Penitentiary, the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signature, and the Sacred Roman Rota; and, lastly, various offices, as the Apostolic Chancery, the Apostolic Datary, the Apostolic Chamber, the Secretariate of State, etc.

The States wherewith the Holy See maintains diplomatic relations were (before the break-up of Europe) Austria-Hungary, Bavaria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain and the United Kingdom (1914), together with most of the American republics, except the United States and Mexico.

Thus it will be observed that there is, in spite of the alleged loss of temporal, or rather territorial, power, a State Department at the Vatican to which are attached Ambassadors. Now, it is precisely the number of Ambassadors or other Ministers attached to the Holy See which will serve to prove the reality of the diplomatic power of the Pope and the extent of that power.

France and the Vatican

One of the outstanding facts for me in European politics—if not in its ultimate results and its multiple reactions altogether the most important fact—is the renewal of French rela-

tions with the Vatican. As I write, this resumption of relations is practically accomplished. There is a strange reversal of policy in France-for France has been for two generations bitterly anti-Clerical. The triumph of the Vatican is one of the most surprising events for all who have known the violent opposition of France, and of the very Ministers who are now turning to Rome, to anything that savored of Vaticanism. The explanation is simple. It is that French diplomacy imperatively calls for the aid of the Vatican for its fulfillment, and the Vatican in return, of course, demands French recognition and French representation. Almost without a murmur, France, for whom republicanism has always meant anti-Clericalism, has accepted this new orientation. The man in the café may not always understand the complicated machinery, he may not know why the diplomatic wheels turn as they do, but he does understand that conditions have changed, and he is inclined to forget past quarrels with a dim belief that it is better for France to turn Romeward.

What the man in the café does not altogether comprehend, the politician knows. He knows what are the guiding-lines of French policy. He knows that it may be regarded as influenced by four main considerations—especially in Central Europe—social, commercial, military and Catholic, and the greatest of these is Catholic. It is upon Catholicism that all the rest depend, and the Vatican saw its opportunity and made its bargain. In Middle Europe it is supreme.

Alliance Against Bolshevism

First, France is anti-Bolshevist as is no other country in the world. That is to say, she is actively and consistently so. There have been attempts to make peace with Bolshevism in every other country: in France, never. It is the Catholic Party—the Bloc National contains many elements, all republican, most of them now impregnated with Catholicism, which is the most implacable opponent of Bolshevism—that directs this resistance. M. Jacques Bainville, one of the ablest of all writers on foreign affairs in France, wrote the other day these words, which certainly deserve quotation:

"Will France not dare to be that which she really is,

and that which she has appeared to all the world since her rupture with Bolshevism—that is to say, the country of resistance and of counter-revolution? Why pretend, why blush? It is a fact so clear that the epithet reactionary is applied to us everywhere. In the present state of the world it is for us to guard that description. It brings us sympathetic agreement more and more, since there is only France which will consent to bear that name, since there is a growing need of order that only France can satisfy."

She was led by this anti-Bolshevist spirit to attempt to form a ring of States around Russia. The idea of a Roman Catholic confederation was bound to arise. Immediately there grew up at the Quai d'Orsav the notion that the Danubian States might be welded together. Unfortunately interests clashed. Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, formed what is known as the Petite Entente, because they were afraid of the proposed French grouping of Catholic Bayaria. Austria and Hungary. That only helped to give body to the idea. France established herself in Hungary, as her Danubian headquarters; and quickly commercial considerations reinforced the social consideration, for the advantages of controlling that magnificent waterway, which is the key to the commerce of a dozen countries, are obvious. There was also the military, that is to say the more strictly political, consideration. All these things fit in with the Roman Catholic conception which now impels French policy.

Policy in Central Europe

*We shall understand why the Vatican is so valuable to France if we remember that France considers that there are two political necessities in the new Europe. The first is the dismemberment of Germany—that chimera which haunts many minds; and the second is the construction of some solid geographical unity in Central Europe, where the sledgehammer policy of pounding Austria-Hungary into a powder of little states is believed to have been a blunder. The capital fault of the Versailles Treaty was to grind Austria to dust and to assure at the same time the unity of the Reich. That the treaty consecrated this unity is perhaps the greatest

grievance that France has against M. Clemenceau. There is little hostility, indeed there is much sympathy, felt for docile Austria, and it is clear that Austria's junction with Bavaria and Bavaria's detachment from Germany would satisfy at once the two parts of the present French political conception.

Under M. Millerand, in spite of the treaty, there has been, and there will continue to be, this return to the ancient French plan of denying the Bismarckian unity, of attempting to destroy it, by means of a rapprochement under French auspices of the Roman Catholic populations of Southern Germany and the Roman Catholic population of Austria. If this were accomplished, certainly German hegemony would be gone forever. Indeed, one might look for French hegemony to be definitely established.

It will, I trust, now be clear why France for its Middle Europe policy has need of the Vatican, and time alone will show how the project will develop. There dovetail into each other so many advantages—a bulwark against Bolshevism, a control of the commercial waterway of the Danube, the smashing of the power of Germany, and the putting together and consolidation of jig-saw Middle-Europe.

France and Catholic Germans

The general idea, though not all its political consequences, is sustained in Parliament and in the press by M. Maurice Barrès. M. Barrès expounds and defends the theme with his accustomed eloquence, though often with a strange absence of logic. With regard to Germany he would detach all the Roman Catholic States without annexing them. Political annexation of the Rhenish provinces, for example, however much it may be desired, is impossible. But M. Barrès would have a sort of intellectual annexation. France herself must be regarded as a Roman Catholic country; the quarrel with the Vatican is better gradually closed, and there is a distinct poussée in the direction of reconciliation.

Nowhere has Roman Catholicism regained something of its lost empire so much as in Middle Europe and in France. The present French Ministry is officially represented at functions in which it would not have taken part a few years ago. The return of Alsace-Lorraine, faithful Roman Catholic provinces, has also helped, as I myself pointed out in the English diplomatic review, "The New Europe," in this new orientation toward Rome. Just as President Wilson distinguished between the German rulers and the German people, the Roman Catholic party (whatever may be its name) is beginning to distinguish between Prussia and the rest of Germany. An intense propaganda is proceeding both sides of the frontiers. Some surprising statements have been made in the most important journals respecting the part that was taken by Southern Germany in the war. One would be tempted to believe that Southern Catholic Germany had always been on the side of the Allies!

Forces Working for Austria

Let me quote by way of showing that always this Austrian idea—this Roman Catholic idea—was working in France even during the war, a remarkable passage in the remarkable book of M. Jean de Pierrefeu, the writer of the French daily communiqué, entitled "G. Q. G." M. de Pierrefeu was at head-quarters and heard the views of Marshal Pétain and other

high officers freely expressed. He writes:

"Pétain was not a partisan of the dissolution of Austria. After the necessary reforms that the Entente should impose regarding the autonomy of peoples, for example, he considered that the empire was alone capable of maintaining union and order between races naturally hostile who, delivered to themselves, would not cease to make war and compromise peace in Europe. He believed in a policy of alliances between France, England and Austria to counterbalance Germany, especially if Germany were not divided. As we can no longer lean on Russia, which is in a state of anarchy for twenty years, he held, it is necessary to put our money on Austria. France must always have a friend in the East!"

The friend in the East is at present Hungary, but there must be an extension of the scheme and always the good offices of the Pope are needed. Is it surprising, then, that there should be the appointment of an Ambassador after so

many years of rupture? One should remember, too, that Poland, another friend in the East, is Catholic. Why, even in her diplomacy in Asia Minor France is dependent on the good-will of the Pope. It is the French Catholic community of Beirut that gives her the greatest moral claim to control Syria. Certainly France has the largest interests in Europe, and all her interests are bound together diplomatically by Catholicism; and at the centre of all the strings is the Vatican.

Situation in Italy

An entirely new situation has arisen in the world, of which Cardinal Gasparri—for he is the political genius of the Vatican—knows how to take legitimate advantage. The Vatican had lost practically all its power; as by a miracle it has regained its old power and more. In Italy the Church of Rome has tried desperately hard to stay the tide of Red Socialism. It formed the Partito Popolare Italiano, or Catholic People's Party, as a counterblow to revolution, and it held the balance of power, making and unmaking Ministries. I have written much of it, but I am content on this subject to quote from that reputed observer, E. Sefton Delmer. He says:

"The party, with its 103 members, after the Socialists, is the best organized and best disciplined party in the Italian Parliament. Like the German Centrum it is the tongue of

the parliamentary balance."

A Sicilian priest, named Don Sturzo, known as the new Savonarola, is the creator of this new party. His mission was, by preaching a radical but peaceful revolution, based on Christian Socialism, to forestall the violent revolution that was the dream of atheistic Socialists. He professes that "while recognizing the Church, it by no means subordinates its work to the Church tenets." Mr. Delmer says:

"In its claim to be independent of the authority of the Church, the Partito Popolare resembles the Centrum Party in Germany. How far this attitude is a mere political fiction in Italy still remains to be seen. There are those who maintain that the Vatican and the P. P. are two hounds coursing the same hare. * * * In the last few months suspicion has nevertheless arisen that it is in some degree under the con-

trol of the Vatican, and this suspicion has sufficed to drive whole groups of its peasant supporters into the fold of its Red opponents. * * * It would certainly be a feather in the cap of the Vatican and of the P. P. if they could succeed in getting people to believe that they are the best guardians of the prestige of Italy, as their present line of action leads one to suppose they fain would do.

"The present juncture in the affairs of Italy and the world is one of intensest interest for the Vatican. The Curia seems to be embarking on an ambitious international policy, which may recoup it for the disappointments suffered under Leo XIII and Pius X. Pope Leo's dream of restoring the moral hegemony of the Papacy by means of great speculative encyclicals remained unrealized. It is a long stride from the abstract economics of his socialistic address. 'Rerum Novarum,' 1891, to the practical economics of the P. P. in 1920. Pope Pius X, in his honest naïve battle against science and the 'corrosive modern spirit,' still further weakened the bastions of the Vatican. Benedict XV, with the eagle-eved Cardinal Gasparri, a new Rampolla, at his side, now once more strives to reach the goal of Leo XIII; not, however, by an appeal to the philosophic and learned, but to the same audience as that addressed by the politicians. Whether labor can be won back to the Church in the new way remains to be seen. * * * In both home and foreign policy the Vatican and Italy are on the threshold of new revolutions. A new drama is being brought on to the great romantic stage of the Mediterranean. In that drama the Vatican and the Partito Populare are destined to play important parts."

That is a striking pronouncement. With it I entirely agree. Catholic Socialists—Reform Parties as distinct from and in opposition to Revolutionary Parties—are to be found everywhere in Europe. Perhaps, after all, the Vatican can do good political as well as diplomatic work. The opportunity for Catholic Socialism or Popularism arises in Poland, in Belgium, in the Baltic States, in Germany—even in England, and perhaps in America.

The Vatican and the League of Nations

But I hasten to discuss another most important proof of the progress of Vaticanism-namely, the League of Nations. The Vatican denies that any steps have yet been taken to obtain admission into the League, and one must accept that denial. Nevertheless, there is always a loophole in any diplomatic denial, and it remains true that the subject has been considered, and that even now semi-official conversations are going on which it is hoped will result in the representation of the Vatican on the council of the League of Nations. Now such a claim raises the difficult question of whether Benedict XV is or is not the holder of temporal rights. For the members of the League, as it was originally conceived, are nations, The Pope no longer possesses any territorial power except over the little quarter of Rome in which he is circumscribed. In what capacity, then, could be sit upon the League which is to settle the political affairs of the world? Obviously his presence-I mean his presence by proxy-would imply his authority openly acknowledged in international politics and would indeed consecrate the triumph of the Vatican.

But there are those in Europe who argue that the League is not so much an association of nations as an organization placed above the nations. Its authority is a moral authority, its power is a spiritual power, its weapons are persuasion and not force. However this may be, the Vatican asserts that in this domain it must indeed be recognized as a controlling influence in the lives of men and of countries. The pronouncements of the Pope would be respected by many people. The pronouncements of the League would be respected by many people. But the Vatican and the League speaking with the same voice would be irresistible. Who would care to defy the united verdicts?

Ruler of the World

The trouble is that the representation of the Vatican would be taken to mean the predominance of the Vatican. Assume that the League is a moral authority: How would it be possible to relegate the Pope to a back seat? And what would the Protestant sects, the Protestant peoples, to say nothing of the Mohammedans and the Buddhists, think if Roman Catholicism were alone admitted? In the articles of M. Aulard, a well-known French authority who is a free-thinker, which have brought up this subject in France, it is held that: First, Roman Catholicism would take precedence of all other religions and philosophies; second, that the Vatican would take precedence of every Chancellery in the world. The Vatican on the League of Nations would be the real ruler of the universe! It is only necessary to read the encyclical letter sent out by the Pope in May to see that that is precisely his conception of the rôle of the Church.

Indeed, anybody who believes that the Holy See has renounced its purely temporal rights will find how mistaken he is on reading this letter. The salient passage is: "We voice once more the protests of our predecessors and demand with even greater insistence, now that peace has been re-established between the nations, that the improper situation in which the head of the Church is placed should cease." The Pope underlines the fact that he makes no tacit renunciation, and intends more than ever to fight against the abnormal position in which the Papacy was put in 1871. But the letter nevertheless is one which makes for reconciliation. The Pope gives express permission to Catholic princes to visit the Italian King. That is its most notable point. Nothing is surrendered of Papal authority, but still the antagonism between the two Italian "monarchs" is not to be kept alive.

When the unity of the Italian Kingdom was established fifty years ago there were two rival sovereigns at Rome. The Pope would not consent to the reduction of his kingdom, but this reduction was forced upon him. The conditions which I have quoted earlier in this article were simply imposed. But never did the Pope accept them. Never has the Vatican profited by the allowance made, and an enormous sum of money is now due. It was the venerable Pius IX who defied the Italian Parliament which, in 1871, fixed the law that established the independence of the spiritual power while taking away the temporal power of the Vatican and confining the Pope almost as a prisoner in a limited area. It was not the

same kind of captivity as Napoleon had subjected the Pope to, when that master of Europe quarreled with a predecessor of Pius IX; but in spite of the apparently friendly terms in which the law was couched the Pope could not but consider it as a hostile act. Ever since the Vatican and the Quirinal have existed on terms of "frozen enmity."

French Anti-Clericalism

Apparently the Vatican was no longer to take any part in world politics, but it nevertheless enjoyed great respect, and its effective power was still considerable. A much worse blow than the loss of territory was the loss of prestige in France, which was then the stronghold of Catholicism, that followed the defeat of the French by the Germans.

France had always, in spite of unhappy incidents, supported the Vatican, and the power of the priests was enormous. But when Napoleon III fell and the Third Republic was formed, there was a reaction. The priests were alleged to be anti-Republican. Republicans, therefore, became anti-Clerical. In the upheaval which followed the disaster of Sedan, it became the fashion to find traitors and to suspect treachery. Gambetta declared war on the priests. Jules Simon, a French Prime Minister, brought in anti-Church legis-Marshal MacMahon, a Catholic President, drove Simon from office. Parliament was up in arms against the President, and in its turn smashed MacMahon. The Clerical Party had a stronghold in the schools, and particularly in the villages. The war became fierce. In 1880 Jules Ferry expelled the Jesuits from France. Waldeck-Rousseau began to take disciplinary measures against the religious orders. The Vatican seemed to have no point d'appui in Europe. When Emile Combes came into power he was ruthless. was in a paroxysm of anti-Clerical excitement. It should be particularly noted that it was M. Briand who disendowed the Church, and M. Millerand who liquidated the monasteries; for if one remembers their part in these stirring times when strife between the Vatican and the Quai d'Orsav was at its height, and then remembers that precisely the same statesmen who did so much against the Church are the ones who are

now striving for a renewal of relations with Rome, some idea of the present remarkable change of opinion and of the political situation of the Vatican will be realized.

Those who in those days were the most bitter enemies of the Vatican are now its friends. Why? Because France has need of the Vatican to use its influence in Catholic countries, while the Vatican has need of France to support its newly

acquired political power.

What brought the quarrel between France and the Vatican to a head was the visit of President Loubet to the Italian King. This was an affront to Papal dignity, for the King of Italy was a usurper according to ecclesiastical opinion, and certainly under the Concordat, signed by Napoleon, Loubet seems to have been wrong. However, the breach is now being healed, because the Pope, in his letter, gives permission for such visits. Italy is pleased, and so is France.

Change Since the War

During the war the Vatican, in a political sense, sank lower than ever. The dilemma was obvious. How could the Church take either the French or the German side? Catholics in either country would have been deeply offended. The Vatican could only be neutral, but it thereby lost a great deal of its authority, already so badly shattered by this long struggle with France, just as America would have lost all moral authority if she had persisted in her attitude of neutrality.

But after the war the wheel turned suddenly. Everywhere Catholic Parties are in the ascendant. The canonization of Joan of Arc at Rome struck the public imagination. That was a great spectacular demonstration. Those of us who saw that mighty procession and assisted at that solemn ceremony at once realized that we were at the beginning of a new epoch for the Church. France, in particular, was flattered by this canonization of her national heroine. There was a complete change of attitude. When to this popular impulse toward friendship there is added the diplomatic necessity of Papal good-will, in Catholic Alsace-Lorraine, in the buffer State of Poland, in the Catholic countries of Middle Europe, in Syria, indeed, everywhere, there is no wonder that France fol-

lows the example of England and arranges to send a representative to the Vatican. There will be a Papal Nuncio at Paris before long, and, with the new alliance between France and Rome, the Vatican must be regarded as having conquered a foremost place in world politics, a place which she will undoubtedly strengthen in the near future.

HOW ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINES AFFECT THE SOUL

BY JOHN M. KYLE

It would require a volume to discuss all the points on which we differ from Rome, for they cover the whole range of doctrine, rites and polity. We shall, therefore, discuss here only two of the doctrines and usages in that Church. considering them briefly, and shall especially try to discover the kind of influence Rome's teachings exert upon the spiritual powers of those who really accept them. The points selected are Mariolatry and Auricular Confession, because they affect the whole soul—the religious affections, the conscience and the understanding.

Mariolatry

Mariolatry, or "devotion" to Mary, is a comparatively late development in Roman Catholicism. The decree of the Immaculate Conception, issued by Pope Pius IX in 1854. gave it a recognized standing, and since then it has spread rapidly and has become an integral part of the system. In many Roman Catholic countries it is so common that the religion of the people is that of Mary and not that of Christ,

Even in Protestant lands Roman Catholic writers, though protesting that Mary is only a creature and should not be given Divine honors, at the same time urge the people to pray to her and teach them to expect mercy through her intercession. The entire month of May and every Saturday, besides special days in the calendar, are set aside for her cult or devotion. She is called the "Queen of Heaven" and is given other titles which lead the people to think of her as

kind of goddess and mediatrix between them and the

Saviour. She is raised so high that many of her devotees regard her as a kind of fourth person of the Trinity.

On what is this new cult based? Certainly not on the teachings of the New Testament. The simple reader of the Gospels can hardly fail to be impressed by the small amount of information they give us about the mother of our Lord. The evangelists tell us nothing of any honors which were given her; indeed, their silence is most impressive in view of this latest development in the Roman Church. Only Matthew and Luke record the story of our Lord's birth. Luke alone tells of the Annunciation and preserves for us Mary's song of praise, the Magnificat. To be sure, the angel in his salutation addresses her in the fulsome forms characteristic of the Orient.

All that we gather from the whole story is that Mary was a humble, God-fearing Jewish maiden, the one chosen among many others to be the mother of our Lord. The claim is never made that she was sinless; on the contrary, she confesses her need of a Saviour. That she was familiar with the Old Testament Scriptures is evident from the Magnificat, which is almost a mosaic of quotations from them.

The unreasonableness of Mariolatry appears when we reflect that she is a finite creature, with all of a creature's limitations. She is not ubiquitous nor, so far as we know, able to hear our prayers. Or, if she heard them, she is without power to answer them. In fact, it is by no means certain that she is even conscious of our existence.

And what is the effect of this cult of Mary upon those who take part in it? Lecky, in his "History of European Morals" (vol. II, page 367), gives it as his opinion that: "Whatever may be thought of its theological propriety, there can be little doubt that the Catholic reverence for the Virgin has done much to elevate and purify the ideal of woman and to soften the manners of men." Were this true we would expect to find a higher respect for woman in those communities where Mariolatry prevails than in Protestant communities where Mary is regarded with respect, along with other pure and good women, but where she has no recogni-

tion in the religious worship and life. But we find that the contrary is true. Woman has attained her highest position in Protestant lands. Lecky has affirmed only a half truth. The chivalrous spirit on the part of the men during the Middle Ages, to an extent no doubt, grew out of the cult of Mary, and it made them more chivalrous to their own women, but not to woman as woman. The same historian holds up the prostitute as the high priestess who, by the sacrifice of her virtue, preserves the peace and purity of the home. The "high ideal of woman" and the softened manners of men, so far as they were not the products of Christianity itself, were bought at a terrible price, the degradation of the women of the lower classes. Take Spain to-day, where Mariolatry is so common, and Dr. R. F. Horton says that "those who are constantly trying to help foreign girls in London by finding them situations on the Continent never dare to send an unprotected girl to Spain in any capacity whatever, because her ruin is assured." ("England's Danger," page 7.)

The cult of Mary tends to push Christ out of sight and to hinder the growth of those distinctively Christian virtues of which He gave us the highest example. According to the well-known principle that men become assimilated to the object of their worship, this worship of a woman, as we find it in the Roman Catholic Church, has resulted in effeminacy of character.

It is in Christ that the highest manly and womanly virtues are to be found. There is in His character that which challenges the admiration and devotion, not only of people of all races and of all ages, but of both sexes. In Christ all distinctions of race and sex disappear. He was not the son of a man, but the Son of Man, and devotion to Him and worship of Him bring out the highest and purest religious affections of both men and women.

Experience proves that the worship of Mary is not inconsistent with fanaticism, intolerance and cruelty. In countries where Mariolatry prevails it is common to find those who will listen complacently while Christ and His doctrines are

attacked, but who will fly into a rage if anyone declares his conviction that the "brethren of our Lord" were the children of Mary. Often the most unlovely traits of character are displayed by her worshipers; their religious affections have become perverted, where they are not destroyed, and the tendency of this cult is to destroy them.

Auricular Confession

Auricular confession, as practised in the Roman Catholic Church, is based upon the claim that it was instituted by Christ when He said to His disciples: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John 20: 23). Roman Catholic theologians insist that "the words of Christ imply the external manifestation of conscience to a priest in order to obtain pardon." Besides the confession of our sins to God, and to our fellowmen when we offend them, which Scripture tells us we should make, the Church of Rome teaches that we should also confess our sins in the ear of a priest and that he is empowered by Christ to grant absolution. "The claim is that absolution is a priestly office, and the authority to exercise it was conferred by our Lord on His disciples, and has been transmitted to their successors from generation to generation."

This claim assumes that the words of Christ were addressed to the Apostles and to no one else, and that through them the priest who has received proper ordination possesses the power to forgive sin. But the words were spoken to all present. The commission is to the Christian society and not exclusively to the Christian ministry. A Roman Catholic priest derives no more power from these words of Christ than the humblest Christian layman.

But our special interest now is not in the interpretation of a proof text; it is rather in the confessional as we find it in the Roman Church and in its influence upon those who resort to it. It is doubtless a usurpation and without foundation in Scripture. The evil of the practise is widespread. The priest himself is brought into temptation. It is fatal to the clergy, whom it invests with power too great for mortal

man. It interferes with parental authority and destroys the peace of homes. What the confessional has been in the hands of worldly, ambitious, sensual and unscrupulous priests has been "written in blood and tears on the page of history." It is fatal to pure Christian morality and to the best interests of all concerned.

The broad principle of the direct responsibility of the soul to God, that the allegiance it owes to Him should be free, spontaneous and unforced, is what raises the human soul to its highest dignity. The servile fear, the dread of man, submission to a human voice rather than to the voice of God in the conscience, which are the fruits of the confessional, all tend to weaken and ruin the conscience. No one can go regularly to the confessional and yield to its influence and not lose something of his God-given dignity and freedom. The soul can pour its inmost secrets into the ear of an omniscient and merciful God and still retain its self-respect, but to be obliged to tell the same secrets to a sinful fellow creature involves such a measure of self-abasement as is entirely inconsistent with true manliness and womanliness.

There can be no question about the duty, yea, the necessity, of confessing our sins, or of our need of pardon, but we should confess our sins to God, whom alone we have offended and who alone can absolve from sin. There is no question, either, in regard to the propriety of anyone going of his own free will to a minister of religion, or other Christian of experience, and seeking spiritual counsel, or even, if he thinks best, making a frank statement of his sinful conduct, in order to obtain the guidance he needs. His sole purpose should be to obtain comfort and guidance. But the penitent goes to the priest in the confessional to obtain absolution. He wants to be delivered from the guilt of his sins, and the priest is there to free him from that guilt. To make it, not a privilege, but a bounden duty, a regular habit, to open up the most secret sins to a fellow-mortal, and to make this a condition of forgiveness "is a degradation, an outrage upon the most holy rights of the human soul."

This power over the conscience, as it is exercised in the

confessional, first paralyzes and finally destroys it. On the other hand, an acceptance of the Gospel of God's free forgiveness for all who come directly to Him and humbly confess their faults, with entire trust in His promises, together with obedience to conscience in all the ordinary duties of life, are consistent with and form the only ground for a noble and self-reliant character.

SHOULD WE PRAY FOR THE DEAD?

BY PROFESSOR W. M. CLOW, D.D., UNITED FREE CHURCH COL-LEGE, GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

The Christian faith has engrossed no clear article regarding intercourse with those who have passed to the world beyond. But the questioning in regard to our relationship to the dead has become more eager and more wistful in these years, when so many have suddenly passed beyond our personal care. It becomes pathetic and painful when we remember those of whose acceptance of God's mercy we have no assurance.

The dead, we must confess, are beyond the reach of our message. But are our dead beyond the pale of our prayers? The answer, very softly spoken on the lips of many is-"Surely not." A new desire, based upon a new conception, has seized upon many minds. There are thousands who never speak of it, who endeavor to heal their anguished hearts and to still their haunting fears by supplications for those whose destiny is so dark to them. This attitude is being justified by many arguments. It is not wise to say in such a case that "the heart has reasons," even though Pascal's authority can be given to the saving. We need more than the craving and conjectures of the human heart. But there are stronger reasons which may be urged. Men may believe that there is no barrier on God's side, for He is love eternal, and His mercy endureth forever. It may be allowed, although with caution when we remember the facts of life and time, that sin will not have a permanent victory in the world to come. We may strengthen our belief when we remember that so many have not had an effectual call of God to His fellowship and service. Many may go farther, yet with some hesitancy, and hope that when the naked soul realizes what it means to be without the gate and to wander in the darkness apart from God, faith and repentance may be exercised, and the place of the banished become the place of hope. Under the sway of such conceptions tender hearts offer prayers for their dead.

Yet all of these reasons are terribly shaken by the undoubted fact that neither the word of Jesus nor the broad teaching of the New Testament gives any sanction to any one of them. We cannot say that the New Testament has no light upon this question. Beyond the fact that there is no record of prayers for the dead, there is the more conclusive fact that everywhere death is regarded as a change so decisive that the opportunities of life are closed finally and forever. In the teaching of Jesus the separation between the accepted and the rejected is always spoken of in terms of finality. The destiny is "eternal," and no exposition of this keenly canvassed word has ever softened its meaning or escaped the conclusion of its context. We cannot rebuild a purgatory. No Christian man who holds to the New Testament as the first line of evidence for the Christian faith will attempt that daring invention.

We are therefore shut up to deny the claim that a doctrine of prayers for the dead is a part of the faith once delivered to the saints. We do not urge the flagrant abuses of this practice in the Roman communion, or the scandals which infested and corrupted that Church when greedy priests made gain of the fears of stricken hearts. We need not insist upon the peril that the imperative for accepting Christ here and now will be relaxed if men depend upon this second chance. The reasons are stronger than these. We cannot build a doctrine upon the feeling and desire of men. We cannot pray without knowledge, and any knowledge of the state of our dead is beyond our power. We cannot, with any confidence, utter petitions without support in the prayers of those who were taught of Jesus. One of His rebukes touching prayer is, "Ye know not what ye ask."

PATRONESS OF THE UNITED STATES

The following remarkable advertisement has been appearing in the "New York Times:"

A National Memorial Church.—A Splendid Monumental Church to the Glory of Almighty God, who hath given us Victory, and in honor of Mary Immaculate, Patroness of the United States, is to be erected at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. \$5,000,000 in contributions of any amount is asked for the Building Fund from all Americans who love and honor God and His Blessed Mother, that work may begin on a Church worthy of the united efforts of a nation, erected in Thanksgiving to God, as a Centre of His Protective Presence, and as a perpetual monument to those Soldiers and Sailors of the United States who died that their fellowmen might live in liberty, and to those others no less valiant who lived to see the coming of Victory, and now serve God and country in the paths of peace.

This extraordinarily arrogant manifesto calls for some remark. To begin with, it may be asked, How can Roman Catholics in the United States claim for one of their church buildings the title, "a national memorial church"? They are only a sect here. Next, one might inquire, Who made the Virgin Mary Patroness of the United States? The Pilgrim Fathers were not Mariolaters. The framers of the Declaration of Independence never mention Mary's name in their historic document. As Mary has been dead for 1,900 years, it may be assumed she herself has never offered her patronage. Have the American people ever adopted her as their patroness? It is naked insolence on the part of Roman Catholic Church authorities in the States to advertise "Mary Immaculate" as Patroness of the United States. It is insulting to the overwhelmingly predominant Protestant population of the States.

The prayers of God's people are asked in behalf of Mr. Francois Moncel, a Roman Catholic priest from Paris, France, who is at present being entertained at Christ's Mission.

BOOK REVIEW

MEDIEVAL HERESY AND THE INQUISITION. By A. S. Turberville. Crosby, Lockwood, London, England.

Mr. Turberville has set himself a large subject—two subjects, indeed—for heresy in the Middle Ages is one great matter, and the creation and development of the Inquisition quite another. His book, in which both are dealt with, is therefore divided into two parts, the connection between which is not very close. And the treatment of the two subjects is not equally difficult. The history of the Inquisition has had a great many mists cleared away from it in recent years. Mr. Lea's huge book and the books of his critics supply everything that is needed. Indeed, there is hardly possibility of original research, except in the documents which still remain almost unsorted in the South of France; but these again refer quite as much to the heresies themselves as to the drastic treatment of them. And the heresies are a very difficult subject, indeed, with many ramifications. Nevertheless, Mr. Turberville chooses these two big subjects, which were to the medieval Church the disease and the remedy, and grap-

ples boldly with them.

It is perhaps impossible to write, in a comparatively small book, on such a large subject without exaggeration. Emphasis, perhaps, it seems to Mr. Turberville; and his knowledge gives him the right to be emphatic. But in medieval history, of all things, there is great danger in statements too cut-and-dried, in contrasts too sharp. For example, it is really not entirely true, as Mr. Turberville thinks, that "the distinction which we of the modern world, as the Renaissance and the Reformation have made it, are wont to make between Church and State, spiritual and temporal, was wholly foreign to medieval thought." This is, of course, far too abrupt a statement, though there is a certain truth in it. No one can read the letters of Gregory VII., or, much further back, of Gregory the Great, or the writings of Leo, without seeing that the difference between the spiritual and the political was understood, though not in the same way in which we should understand it now. Augustine certainly did not confuse the Church and the State, though ideally he saw a realm which should include both. This, by the way, and Mr. Turberville himself proceeds first to modify his statement and then unconsciously to disregard it. Church and State were quite different things in the Middle Ages or there would have been no heresy and no Inquisition.

Mr. Turberville gives an interesting sketch of the causes which produced heresy: the psychological conditions, as he calls them; the desires of the flesh; "overconfidence in the individual's powers unaided by religion." He hardly gives a philosophical explanation, but his historical one is well put. For the study of medieval heresy the equipment of a philosopher and of a theologian is needed, and Mr. Turberville does not seem to be either. He is, rather, a keen student of men, manners and institutions; and he puts the results of his studies clearly and well. The earlier pages of his book perhaps dwell too complacently on the obvious; but this may be regarded not unnaturally as a necessary introduction, for the general

reader, to a complicated subject.

With the larger part of Europe Mr. Turberville deals only cursorily. Interest is concentrated in Gaul. There, to vary slightly the method of this book, we may note that in the district of Lyon, in Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Dauphiny, up to Lorraine in the north, in the south, in Provence and Narbonne, the heresy of Peter Waldo,

a rich merchant of Lyon, prevailed. He did not wish to cut himself off from the Church, but to return to what he believed to be primitive teaching. He denied the Church's doctrines of the Real Presence, Holy Orders, cult of the saints, purgatory. Of his position as fundamentally Protestant we have abundant evidence. About the Albigensian heresy, which became practically supreme in Languedoc and Gascony, we cannot be so certain. Our information comes chiefly from the acts against the heretics, in which the documents at Montpellier are of primary importance. A book on this subject, we believe, was expected from Mr. F. Darwin Swift, but we still wait for it. Whatever its origin, the Albigensian teaching began to spread through the preaching of Peter de Brueys and Henry of Lausanne. It was condemned by the Council of Tours in 1163. Then we note the English parallel in the Council of Oxford and the Assize of Clarendon—though the English people (save one muliercula) seem to have remained untouched. In 1167 the heretics were strong enough to hold a sort of council to establish their faith and discipline. In 1178 Louis VII. and Henry II. were on the point of making a crusade against them. But the milder course of missions was followed till the policy of Philip Augustus gave a new impetus to persecution. When the Crusades in the south came they illustrated, if they did not inaugurate, two fatal principles—"denial of religious liberty to conscience and of political independence to

We have not been quoting, or summarizing, Mr. Turberville. We have rather followed the French historians in showing briefly what is the historical setting for the chief part of his book. The ground, indeed, is not unfamiliar. The merit of Mr. Turberville's work is that he has surveyed it from a height and summarized the result of his observation with lucidity and point. He is no partisan. He is no amateur. He is a conscientious student and a trained teacher. His book may, therefore, be read with confidence as well as with interest by those to whom the subject is new. If it sends readers to Mr. Lea's many volumes we may hope that it will induce them also to study the admirable book of the Bishop of Beauvais, "L'Inquisition—ses origines—sa procédure," and to pay attention to the judicial article of Lord Acton, published in "The History of Freedom

and Other Essays."

Mr. Turberville rightly points out that in the Middle Ages "the Church was no enemy of speculative thinking as such." It was not so much the writers as the readers who claimed the Church's vigilant attention. One is reminded of the conversation which Mark Patison records between himself and Newman, to the effect that the Roman Church allowed great freedom of discussion among the theologians, but condemned the ventilation of unauthorized opinion among the laity. And what our author says of the Averroist position forcibly suggests that of the modernists to-day. The "postulate of a double truth, one philosophic, the other religious," is as inevitably condemned now as six centuries ago. He rightly decides on the other hand that it is "fanciful and erroneous to trace back the causes of the Reformation and the breakdown of the medieval world-state to the medieval heresies and movements of reform."

We must not pursue farther the lines of thought suggested by this interesting book. No doubt it is somewhat unequal. Perhaps it needs a theologian to know what Luther meant by consubstantiation: certainly Archbishop Temple did not know, so we need not be

surprised that Mr. Turberville does not.

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